network, there is irrefutably more competition today than was the case when the rules were struck down.

(Gap in tape) -- that the deals cut in this environment reflect those underlying economics. That is precisely how one would expect the competitive marketplace to respond. For our part, we have fought to keep pace with these eroding economics in a number of ways. First, we have sought to extend the initial term of our series deals from an average of six to seven -- from an average of six years to an average of seven or eight years or, in certain instances, to negotiate perpetual licensing. This is intended to provide us with greater commercial protection against huge license fee increases when we seek to renew a hit show. I am sure that you are all familiar with the many millions of dollars demanded by producers for renewals of hit shows such as Friends, ER,

Second, we have sought to revise our license deals to allow us to re-purpose or re-exhibit a program in close proximity to its initial broadcast. The goals are to advertise the increased cost of programming over a greater number of exhibitions across different platforms and to provide greater opportunity in the fractionalized viewing marketplace where the viewers find and sample (inaudible).

ABC's 2002-2003 schedule has consisted of a mix of three categories of programming: 1) Those that are produced entirely

by independent producers; 2) Those that are produced through a joint production agreement with Touchstone Television, which is owned by Disney; and 3) Those that are produced entirely by Touchstone Television. This season's shows that fall in the first category, entirely independently produced programs, have included Dragnet, NYPD Blue, The Practice, George Lopez, Drew Carey, Whose Line is it Anyway, The Mole, and Profiles From the Front Lines.

For next season, ABC has ordered comedy and drama pilots to go along with from independent producers, including Warner Brothers, (Inaudible) and Warner Brothers, Wonderland Production and Warner Brothers, the Tannenbaum Company and Warner Brothers, Universal Television, Jersey Television and Universal, Grant Gray Television and 20th Century Fox, Imagine Television and 20th Century Fox, and Carson (inaudible).

MR. WESTEN: Mark, we'll need to get you to wrap up.

MR. PEDOWITZ: ABC has also ordered four reality pilots from independent producers. In closing, I want to stress that the government's long-term efforts to stimulate more diversity and competition in television was achieved. The extraordinary competition and diversity in television today provides no factual or legal basis for government intervention into business relationships between networks and program producers.

MR. WESTEN: Thank you. Our second panelist is David
Kissinger, president of Universal Television Productions, and

the former president of USA Studios programming, oversees Emmy
Award winning NBC drama series, Law and Order. David.

MR. KISSINGER: Thank you. Well, I have a rather brief statement so hopefully I can help move this schedule along. It think that it's quite telling that a representative from Universal Television is here today as a spokesperson for the little guy. I think that tells you about as much about media consolidation as anything.

And what it really tells you, while Mark makes a, I think, very cogent case for the circumstances that were on the ground when the FINSYN rules were eliminated, one has to think back to what the opponents of abolishing the FINSYN rules warned might be the worst possible outcome. And let's think about some of the scenarios that were posed, the eradication of the independent production community. Well, that has come to pass with almost extraordinary efficiency and completeness.

And again, for the president of Universal Television to be on this panel representing what is remaining of that community tells you a lot about how complete that disappearance has been.

Now, Mark does make a very, I think, eloquent case about the diversity that is available to the viewing audience, and I don't think that anybody can be cavalier about dismissing the fact that television now does present to viewers as many choices as ever in the history of the medium. However, that does not change the fact that network broadcast is a unique

platform with a unique set of opportunities and obligations, and there are many people for whom that is the only available television viewing experience. There are 43 million American households that only have access to broadcast network television. And for those people the revolution in this business over the last ten years has had, I would argue, a very concrete impact.

It is not a coincidence that simultaneous with the elimination of the independent production community, you see the explosion of the reality programming phenomenon. That is a direct confluence of the economic pressures upon the companies that are now almost exclusively doing the programming and the shift in the creative process that has occurred as a result of this. Now, what do I mean by that? It is not, and believe me, I am not trying to demonize the executives who work in these vertically integrated companies. I am one of them. It just so happens that the vertically integrated company for which I work does not yet include a broadcast network. It does include some very powerful cable networks.

(End of Side B, Tape 1. Beginning of Side A, Tape 2.)

MR. KISSINGER: Create somewhat of a creative firewall between the networks and the product. The firewall no longer exists. There is now no difference in most cases between the network executives and the studio executives and that has a fundamental impact on the nature of the creative process. The

network executives are also under extraordinary pressure because the quarterly reports of the companies for which they work are so fundamentally influenced by the ratings of a broadcast network to get those ratings up fast.

And again, this is not to demonize those executives, but the reality is that that results in a quick-fix mentality. Studios, to the extent they are driven only by building value for a studio, can afford not to be thinking, and really must think on other than a quarterly basis. Networks have a different set of imperatives. And so it, at any given moment, makes more sense for a network to say, "Well, let's go with Mr. Personality because that looks like, for this week, that will result in a short-term fix." Frequently that is to the detriment of the network's long-term interest. It's certainly, I would argue, not contributing to the interest of the viewer in any objective sense.

And I would illustrate, Mark makes the point that cable networks have experienced enormous growth over the last ten years and that is certainly true. But there's a very good test case for the massive disparity between the strength of networks -- broadcast networks and cable networks, and that is a show that both ABC and USA are now sharing in a repurposing model called Monk.

Monk is a terrific show, which we at Universal Television produce, and it is in fact the highest rated series in the

history of basic cable. However, when it is shown on ABC on
Thursday night, the most competitive night on network
television, its audience is, I think, easily quadruple the size
of its audience on the USA network on its very best night. So
to me that simply illustrates that there is a massive
discrepancy between the power of the broadcast cable platform

Now, we at Universal Television are not advocating some extreme solution to this. We have yet to join with the proposal that would reinstitute a set aside of 25 percent of the broadcast network schedules for independently produced programming. We're still looking seriously at that, and I think it really does warrant very respectful consideration from all of us in this business who do have an obligation to try to serve the interest of the viewing public.

I think that's where I'll leave it.

MR. WESTEN: Thank you, David.

Our next panelist is Jerry Isenberg, professor, executive director of Electronic Media Programs at the USC School of Cinema TV. He's been chair of the Caucus for Producers, Writers, and Directors since 1968, and has produced over 100 films and television projects.

MR. ISENBERG: I don't think I was the Chair that long.

MR. WESTEN: Since.

and the cable platform.

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MR. ISENBERG: Commissioner Copps proposed an interesting

question, at least it's very interesting to me because it's been basically my field of study. And that is, is there a relationship between business structure and creativity? And after 30 years in this business, as a network executive at ABC, as an independent producer, as an entrepreneurial owner of product, and as a studio head, or at least a major independent studio head, my answer is unquestionably yes.

Eusiness structure affects creativity. And if I can explain a little bit about why, if you look at the elements that are necessary to have a creative environment, you find out that true creativity is risky. It involves starting off on a project without knowing exactly what the end result will be. If you know the end result, you're not creating, you're executing. You can't put it on a time table. It takes time, and you don't know when it's going to come out. It is risky. It takes experimentation. It requires vision, resources, power to execute, and an environment that is free from fear because fear will just kill it. Any creativity you have and you get scared of your job or you get scared of the result, you tend to shut down.

Then you look at the corporate environment that we have created over these last years with the merger of virtually all media into six major companies, and Mark, you know, named all these outlets. All these outlets are owned by the same six companies. We have, I'd say, 90 percent of what's seen on

television to 95 percent is owned by the same six companies.

There may be a lot of stations, but it's all Viacom or Disney,

3 or whatever.

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MR. WESTEN: Let me please ask the audience to hold your comments down until we reach the end of the panel.

MR. ISENBERG: I love it. Why?

MR. WESTEN: In fairness to all the panelists.

MR. ISENBERG: Okay. So what we have created is six major companies that operate on different principles than the entrepreneurial principles that govern independent production and actually the networks back in the days of Paley and Goldenson, and Sarnoff because in those days the owners were directly related, or the chief executives were directly related to the product. They had a responsibility for the product that was personal. They had to go home and explain to their wife and their friends why it was on the air. They also, as has been said earlier, recognized they had a public responsibility. That they were using the public's airwaves, which were supposed to be for the public's benefit. And somehow or other, we have now created an environment where the corporations treat the airwaves as a corporate asset for their benefit. It's completely different.

Secondly, today's program decision makers operate by business plans. We've just seen that there, if you look at today's New York Times, it'll reference Mark's network and the

classic short-term thinking that produced four nights of
Millionaire and destroyed ABC for the next five years. Disney
needed to run a profit, and they needed to do it fast. And
Millionaire was making lots of money, so that became the way it
went about.

In the environment where short-term profitability and short-term ratings and the immediacy of ratings is key, the program executives on the line operate from fear and they operate from short-term results. They also, as in any bureaucracy, have to protect their butts for the decisions they made because no matter what anybody thinks, every time you make a decision in this business, 70 percent of the time you're wrong. Maybe 80 percent.

So how does an executive protect themselves? By creating rationales they can use for their management for the decisions, proven formats. What you get by the way is imitation, because if Law and Order worked, let's do another Law and Order. If CSI works, let's do two more CSI. If reality works and it's because of sex, let's make it sexier. So it's that kind of thinking that is bureaucratic, not entrepreneurial. That's not the thinking that was in television 30 years ago. Yes, we've got a lot more programming.

There are three freedoms at stake when we talk about creative freedom. The first is the freedom to develop ideas or to choose ideas. The second is the freedom to choose the

people to execute the ideas. And the third is the freedom to execute those ideas without oversight, without, you know, the kind of invasive oversight by people who supposedly shouldn't be doing this.

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What we have created in the removal of FINSYN and consolidation is this circumstance where the network executives have created for themselves and arrogated to themselves a level of power that is inappropriate to creativity.

In theory, a network executive's job is twofold. One, select from a random -- from a number of ideas, and once the ideas are selected, ensure that the ideas are executed according to the standards of the network. In theory, the producers, the writers, and the directors who have been doing this for God knows how many years -- and if you look at the average age of a network executive, it's somewhere between 25 and 30, and most network executives, like I was, hope to graduate from being a network executive to being a producer -the arrogation of power into the network executive is an inverted structure. It's put power in the wrong place. So what we're getting is a destructive environment for creative people in which any form of struggle is looked on by that network, which now, most of the time owns the product, as you're now a troublemaker, you're done. So we've got a community, a creative community, operating on great levels of fear. By the way, that's not -- I'm not talking about David

Kelley and Dick Wolf because, you know, it's like every other business, the top five percent, they just float through all of this, but I'm talking about the great bulk.

So what has happened to the programming, and how is this reflected in the programming? Well, the first one I'll pick out is TV movies, which in the '70s were one of the great formats for creativity, expression, you know, great projects done. It is a dead form in free television. The audience has rejected it completely. It's rejected it completely. Most of us who make careers in this form of the business because the creativity of the medium in free television is gone. And it's gone because there's no independent production anymore.

Because that's where it was.

And I'll tell you a short story about the Women at Brewster Place. I produced the Women at Brewster Place most of you -- some of you can remember it. It's an Oprah Winfrey miniseries that we did for ABC. And we developed it as a four hour, and Oprah was committed, and everybody loved the script, and everything was going until the ABC executive at that time said, "No. We're not going to do a four hour. We want to do a three hour." And the question obviously, why, and the answer was, "Because we don't think this subject matter can attract a big enough audience to warrant two nights." The subject matter being an African American -- a movie about five or six African American women, poor women. Because I was an independent

producer and I realized the economic viability of this project died with that decision, we figured out a way to shoot a fourth hour. And ABC was just beside themselves. "How can you do that? We didn't pay you enough for three." And we basically told them that the back end from the fourth hour would pay for the cost, plus. But that wasn't the real problem for ABC. real problem for ABC was the four hours was going to exist. With Oprah being Oprah, they were going to have to look at it. And now they had to contend with it. And sure enough we made the movie. And sure enough ABC, "We like the three hour." sure enough Oprah said, "I want the fourth hour." And ABC said, "Okay." And the show went on the air, won the week, and nearly won the year for them. It was the highest rated miniseries in the three years. And by the way, the executive in charge was fired the day after the second night. story.

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Had there not been the independence and the entrepreneurial ability to take the risk -- this is just a story that's endemic. Never would've happened. Some programmer would've decided and that would've been it.

So television movies have died in free television. They exist primarily, by the way, at HBO, which is somewhat a not level playing field because they spend \$8 or \$10 million dollars a movie.

Comedy series have lost the relevancy, and we haven't had

a major hit, major hit. I'm talking at the level of All in the Family, MASH, Cheers, maybe Friends, which is as nonrelevant as one can get -- but, and excuse me not Cheers, Friends. So we are looking at a comedy environment that now is beginning to look like it did before Cosby came on the air, an independently produced series, that says comedy is dead.

What is working? Reality. It's intensely exploitive.

It's cheap to produce. It can be done very quickly and very fast. And what is the down side of all this is, in this environment where the executives who are creating the shows are removed from the responsibility, the public responsibility, what you're getting is a level of taste and vulgarization that makes you sometimes want to wince. So that form is for the moment flourishing out of its exploitiveness, not out of its quality.

The fourth form of television, we are strangely enough in almost a golden age, and that is the hour-long drama. And it's sort of a puzzle at one level to say, "Why is the hour drama so good nowadays? Why do we have so much of it? So good and everything else ain't working." And the answer is you have to look at the power structure in the hour drama. The hour drama -- producing 22 hours of good television in one year within that -- in a singular format is an act of incredible genius.

Bill's done it a few years and my respect for the man goes

on forever. He also made me an awful lot of money because I had a piece of Fame. For which I'm always indebted.

The ability to do that is rare and valued above everything else, which means the David Kelleys and the Dick Wolfs operate in an environment, a creative power environment, that has nothing to do with anything else. They're given incredible freedom and incredible support, and you will not see that support and freedom anywhere else in the television matrix. And that's my answer for that.

I'm about out of time except I wanted to make one comment about Mark's notes when he read out all those independent productions, the Warner Brothers independent production and the Fox independent production. I didn't know where those studios became independent. But if you notice, almost every one of these independents is in association with one of the six majors. Except for Carsey-Werner, there are virtually no dramatic or comedic series that are done independently. They are all in the hands, financially, which means power, of one of the six. So this illusion that there's independent production over at ABC is humorous.

Thank you.

MR. WESTEN: Jerry, thank you.

We will reserve a little time at the end for any burning rejoinders that any of the panelists may feel necessary.

Our fourth speaker is William Blinn, Emmy and Golden Globe

winning writer, helped create a number of series and projects including The Rookies, Starsky and Hutch, Roots, and Brian's Song.

MR. BLINN: Well, this is going to be fun.

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First of all, I apologize for not wearing a tie. My personal credo for wearing a tie is that someone has to have died or I have to be nominated for award or I have to be sleeping with someone who's nominated for an award. And I checked my calendar this morning and here I am. Okay?

When I was a kid in high school, I was on the baseball team. I was on the baseball team because I was a pretty good hitter. I was also not a good fielder. The coach, who probably runs a network somewhere, therefore made me the catcher. The first time I was catching in a baseball game, the pitcher started off by walking the first batter on four pitches. He walked the second batter on four pitches, and the third batter came up, no outs, two men on base, three straight balls. Well, I had seen enough minor league baseball games in the town where I was raised to know that you're supposed to go out and calm the pitcher down. So I called timeout and I walked out to the mound and about halfway there I realized that I -- no one had ever told me what it is you're supposed to say to a pitcher to calm him down. So I got there with my 15-year-old, leather, wizened, experienced face and looked at his 16-year-old, leathery, jaded, world-worry face, and I said

after a moment, "You're in a terrible mess." He said after a moment, "I know that."

I think that's the mind set of the room in regard to broadcast and where we stand. We are in a terrible spot. We think we know that. What we do not know, or it's difficult to ascertain, is A) can we do something about it to slow the iceberg? And if we can, what are those items that we can do?

The first thing I think we need to do as a community -- and I don't mean those of us necessarily involved in the industry because the broadcast industry affects all of us whether we are in it or not -- is to acknowledge that in many ways we're in a place of PR denial. The mantra of competition and free enterprise and diversity is fairly well known, and I would offer you the following profile that exists. Which is a company, a big umbrella company that owns a film studio, and the film studio sells its entertainment product to a network that's also owned by the big umbrella company; and after that film entertainment has been shown on the network, its first run rerun is sold to a cable outlet that is also owned by the same umbrella company that owned the studio that owns the network.

This circular digestive food chain can be described in a lot of ways, but I don't happen to think that competition is one of those words that applies.

What Jerry addressed is that this monolithic corporate giant, or giants, tends to homogenize what gets put out because

it homogenizes the creators. They are confronted with something so large, with such a mind set, and they don't have to be bad guys, they can be co-opted and coerced and still have the best will in the world, but we are not developing our rebels. And when you don't develop your rebels, you don't have your rebellion, and I would offer the thought that this industry, and to some degree this nation, thrives on its own sense of rebellion and renewal.

I'm going to quote a few names that a lot of you in this audience are too young to remember. But I don't know where the David Suskinds are. I don't know where the Fred Coes are. I don't know where the Reginald Roses are. I don't know where the Paddy Chayefskys are. I do know where Paddy Chayefsky is. He is in his grave, screaming, "I didn't take Network far enough." And he didn't. He didn't envision people eating live grubs on television. Aren't we proud? That's where we have come to.

I hope at some point Jerry Isenberg can address an issue he was aware of on an ESPN program, but I'll let him deal with that when the time comes. Well, he was on the program. He just has a greater facility of the facts than I do.

But the fact of the matter is there was a time when this nation was not homogenized. There was a time when you traveled 30 and 40 miles, the accents changed, the politics changed, the taste of the beer changed because the water changed and the

hops changed, and it was really a variegated kind of experience. We all know that's over with. We all know the Holiday Inns, the Marriotts, and the whole corporate thing has — they shrunk us, and shrunk our spirit in my opinion. Certainly that has happened in television.

I agree with what Jerry said earlier that the hour shows are in wonderful shape creatively, but then I looked down at the top 20 last week. There were four hours of Law and Order, two hours of American Idol, and three hours of CSI Miami, Los Vegas, and Akron, Ohio wherever the hell that is. But the point is diversity isn't the number of channels. That's an electronic trick. Diversity involves viewpoints. In particular does it involve minority viewpoints and unpopular viewpoints. The names I mentioned were people who used to rattle our cage. They used to reach out through the screen, and grab us and say, "Goddamn it, look at the problem."

Edward R. Murrow, whose an Ed R. Murrow today? A documentary today is Barbara Walters interviewing a star and that's called news. No, it's not news.

I would also offer the thought, I know this is not a news issue, but while there are more hours of news available in terms of when you get home from whatever you're doing, if there happens to be a TV program on that network that night that addresses an issue, why, the news that night will address the same issue and they'll talk to the star, they'll talk to

somebody. And the line between news and entertainment is not blurred, it's smeared, and it's not a clean line. And I mean that in a whole number of ways.

There was a time around the turn of the century, when the government shook John D. Rockefeller, and as we look back on that it's offered that it's because he controlled the oil. No, it's not because he controlled the oil, it's because he controlled the oil and the railroads. He controlled the product and he controlled the method of distribution. And that's — that's a chokehold. And there's no way — I won't say there's no way out of it. I'm trying to find one.

We're in a world -- and it's been mentioned before, I
won't beat this dead horse -- the logic of networks owning
other networks, well, you'd have to upgrade to get it to logic.
And I made a note to myself not to pick on Disney and then I
thought, "What an oxymoronic phrase is 'picking on Disney.'"

So, and the -- in politics and in public life and a whole number of areas, we attempt -- at least we attempt to avoid conflict of interest and we even attempt to avoid the appearance of conflict of interest because we know it affects the voter, the viewer, the investor, whatever. Their faith is important to our wellbeing. Our being the nation's wellbeing in my opinion.

There was a program on in about half a year ago. I didn't see it so I'm not commenting about the quality of the program.

It could have been wonderful. Live from Baghdad detailed the presentation of CNN in their coverage of the first Gulf War. That program was produced by HBO. HBO and CNN are joined at the hip, corporately. Now again, I'm not impugning for a moment the motives of any of the people involved with it. I have no idea. I do know that in terms of appearance of conflict of interest, we've thrown that baby out without question.

Before the trap door under the chair opens up -- years ago a man by the name of E.E. Cummings wrote a poem called a Tongue of Wood. And the poem went like this:

There was a man with a tongue of wood, who essayed to sing. And in truth it was lamentable. But there were some who heard this clip-clapper of the tongue of wood and knew what it was the man wished to sing. And with that the singer was content.

I hope you've heard what I wish to sing.

MR. WESTEN: Thank you very much.

Our next speaker is Paula Silver, who is president of the creative marketing company Beyond the Box. Her latest picture being Big Fat Greek Wedding, many of you I'm sure have seen. Formally of Columbia Pictures and the Walt Disney Company. Paula.

MS. SILVER: Well, I don't think I can be as eloquent as my colleague here, Bill.

But what I think is really interesting here as, you know, being the person who marketed the movie My Big Fat Greek Wedding, a film that nobody would make because it was about a subject that nobody wanted to see, because who cares about Greek people? You know, they don't get ratings. They can't be tracked.

And so when you start looking at consolidation or deregulation, deregulation is now being placed upon us or being presented to the public as if it's something really good.

You're going to get something. Well, what you're going to get is more of the same. And it's really frightening that words are being used against the public's information system and nobody's discussing it. It's not being discussed in the way that really is accessible, and access is what's really important. Television, films, it's access; it's storytelling. How are we creating the culture, and what stories are we communicating to other cultures about this society? I mean, if the import -- if the export business of the United States, the biggest one is entertainment, what messages are we sending out? What stories are we telling?

You know, I've had the advantage of being inside a big studio, and when I got to Sony it was actually Columbia

Pictures that I was hired to be head of and then suddenly it became Sony Pictures Marketing that I was heading up. And I saw how that big mammoth or behemoth of an organization had to

be fed in a way that I hadn't really seen from the outside.

For years before that I had worked for all of the studios, and

I might also add that of the studios I worked for none -- five

of them are left. And there were ten at the time, and so we're

looking at really, what's really happened to the whole

consolidation? There's no big freedom of opportunity for

independent, creative producers and talent and directors.

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Well, I got inside the studio and I suddenly saw that this place was one that if it was a \$35 million budget, they wanted my attention. If it was \$65 million, it was really important because then I was going to spend another \$35 million to market that motion picture and that was going to then feed the integration of that company. It was going to feed everything but television because Sony couldn't own a broadcast network. And so it might have had to have an arrangement with somebody else, but it didn't have it's own access. And you saw how everybody in the company wants to make good films, and they want to make good programming, but the pressure to be in business and to really worry about the bottom line is really upon you. And so you say, "Okay, what do you really have to pay attention to?" Well, that \$65 million movie is supposed to make you back that \$200 million box office. With the deregulation of theaters, you've got to feed the chains and have 2,000 prints. You need to have 5 or 16 in one megaplex, and so you don't really have an opportunity to nurture that

small film. If My Big Fat Greek Wedding hadn't been at an independent, it would have never reached box office success at \$250 million with a \$5 million initial investment because nobody would've watched that film. Nobody would've nurtured it. Nobody would've made sure that it would've stayed in theaters when it was being pushed out by the bigger companies that have deals, long-term deals.

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And so you start asking yourself, "Well, what does this all really mean?" When I was at Disney, I began to see what it meant to be in a real vertically integrated company because we were able to exploit, as it's called, or use the assets of a company so that you thought that Disney's films permeated everyplace. You'd go to the theme park, you'd see the trailers playing in the theme park. You'd go to the Disney resorts, they'd be playing in the Disney resorts. You'd go so far as to actually create a TV show that looked as if it was news; but in fact if you looked really carefully, it was only Disney films that that were being discussed on that channel. It was a little show and then suddenly we had then -- somebody actually caught it eventually, but it was being sent out to the audiences, the film audiences, and the television audiences if it was real news. Every single show that was being discussed on this little half hour was only about Disney films. And so you say, okay, so that idea of owning so much, ABC and Disney really owning so much, meant that suddenly your characters,

your stars from Disney films could suddenly be on ABC, Good Morning America. They would suddenly show up on Regis and Kelly -- Cathy, at the time, now Regis and Kelly. And you could go through the entire day and have your stars there.

Well, as an independent, you don't have that access.

Nobody's telling ABC to take your star. Nobody's taking -
telling ABC to take Nia Vardalos, who may be the most brilliant

creator of a movie, but she's an unknown. And so trying to get

her booked for that publicity tour that everybody else is

enjoying is impossible. I mean, they went so far as to say,

"Well, listen. If you can promise me Tom Hanks and Rita Wilson

and John Corbett, maybe we'll take Nia Vardalos. And it wasn't

until the film had become a huge success that suddenly people

were looking for Nia as a story.

And so it's really frightening to think that these conglomerates can get any more vertically integrated because it really doesn't allow for the independent talent to be seen anywhere.

Independent filmmakers, you talk about independent production, there isn't -- they say there are a lot of independent films. There are a lot of independent films and that's because the ability to make film is much cheaper. Everybody has a digital camera. And so if you have a camera, you can make a film. But where does it get distributed? Where do people get to see it? People make documentaries. Where are

they being seen? If the important stories, the white papers that used to be on NBC, are not being seen of NBC, and they're being made by independent filmmakers as documentaries, and people look at documentaries as being spinach. And then maybe it's going to be relegated to PBS, of which I was on the advisory board of PBS because I believe in public service and I believe in public engagement and I believe in the public story, and PBS being the champion of children's programming is in suddenly being pushed out of the marketplace by the conglomerate of a Paramount, which now has -- not only does it have Nickelodeon and MTV and VH1 and Nick-teens and Nick-at-Night, it's a complete consolidation so that there's no room for anybody else. All the networks have even gotten rid of their kids' programming because somebody else is doing it, right. And it's not PBS and yet PBS was the champion.

And so you say, "Okay, so now where do we take it?" Okay, that's been destroyed; this has been destroyed. Our culture is being destroyed. Children are being targeted now at a younger age because 'tweens have disposable income. So let's market to the 'tweens. Let's give them more and let's make them grow up sooner, make them consumers, not creators because there's a dollar line that you can maximize that way. It makes you really wonder where we're really going, what values, what public stories we're telling, what public service we're telling our kids to be part of. And where are they going to see these

stories? Who's going to be doing them?

I'm somebody who believes that television is a really powerful medium. It's the most powerful medium because it's social-economically equal. You don't have to spend \$10 to go to a movie theater to see it. But if all the stories are the same and there's no diversity, what are we talking about? The amortization of reprogramming 24 hours a day of the same show so that I can see Friends on NBC and then I can see it on MSNBC and then I can see it on another cable channel, that's not diversity to me. That's the same. It's the same share. And the viewership of cable is not there either.

When you go out to buy as a consumer, as a media person, I say, okay, where am I going to spend my money? Well, as an independent consultant for an independent film company, I don't have the same network dollars. We launched My Big Fat Greek Wedding with \$700,000, not \$35 million, and we had to use it and we had to reuse it and we had to really find ways to access public engagement in a way that the television nation -- the television stations aren't allowing us to do.

And so I look to see where the future is. You know, I'm the mother of three children, and I want their stories to be told and I want diversity to be told, and I thank Sandra for having me on this panel. As you see there are no -- none of my female peers are here. So where are the voices?

And I say that deregulation is a big, big brother opening up your doors and taking control of all of us. I wake up in the morning and I watch the news and I feel -- I go from network to network to network, to station to station to station and all the stories are the same. They're all the same. And I wonder who's reporting our news and who's talking to us.

And I think that Commissioner Copps, we're here to support you and however way we can get the voice out and the word out that this is not just about networks, it's about grassroots, it's about people knowing what they need to fight for. And I support you.

MR. WESTEN: Our next panelist, John Taplin, is also an award winning film and television producer, and currently chair and CEO of Entertainer, the pioneer in on-demand video and entertainment. John.

MR. TAPLIN: Thanks.

Like Jerry Isenberg, I started my career in the golden age of the independent production company, producing films for Marty Scorsese in the 70's. And I think I'm here because I know what media consolidation and vertical integration feel like to a small company.

For the last six years, along with a group of talented engineers, I built the first video-on-demand company called Entertainer. We had as shareholders three of the largest media companies in the world, AOL/Time Warner, Sony and Vivendi

Universal. Some of these shareholders had board observer seats and all of them had access to our most secret documents, architecture, and business plans. For the first three years of our life they gladly supplied us with thousands of films from our service — for our service while we slowly built and market tested our software and security systems. But literally on the day we deployed the service nationally, everything changed.

They cut off our film supply and almost immediately began to plan their own competing service, Movie Link, hiring away our most crucial software architects and doing everything possible to destroy our company.

When I was first starting the company, one executive from a movie company said to me, "You don't think the studios are going to let you create another HBO, do you?" Well, maybe I was naïve, but I said yes. And anybody who wants to know what the effects of vertical integration can have on a small company, I welcome them to look at our lawsuit.

So I guess the real question here is: Is there a role for smaller independent media companies in the American system?

When I started in this business there were many, many small production companies, and now there are six companies that seem to totally control all the media. Chairman Powell has had a survey done which, Professor, you referred to, which somehow has convinced him that there was tremendous diversity voices in the American media universe despite consolidation.

And so he seems determined this June to remove any remaining caps on the media ownership rules that have served us very well for half a century.

Well, I've done my own little survey and I'd like to share it with you. It's centered on the radio system because I think that gives us an insight of what TV will look like in a few years.

Bill Blinn talked about a time when there was regional diversity and because I work for Bob Dylan in the 60's, I can tell you that there was a time when radio was different in New Orleans than in Baltimore and that isn't anymore. Doesn't exist.

But moreover, I have a friend who lives in Eugene, Oregon, which is a nice, average sized, American town; and in that town there are two talk radio stations. One owned by Clear Channel, one owned by Cumulus. Two weeks ago he did a survey of the political bias of those two stations and this is what he found:

Between these two stations there are 80 hours per week, more than 4,000 hours per year, programmed for Republican and conservative hosts of political talk radio, and not so much as one second program for Democratic or liberal media.

Political opinions expressed on talk radio today are approaching the level of uniformity that would normally be achieved only in a totalitarian society. There's nothing fair, balanced, or democratic about it.

So how did we get to this point? I believe it was a very brilliant strategy planned by Newt Gingrich and the Republican right in the early '80s with major allies in the media business.

Step one was to get rid of the Fairness Doctrine.

Understanding television's power to manufacture consent, the FCC took the view in 1949 that station licensees were public trustees, and as such had an obligation to afford reasonable opportunity for discussion of contrasting points of view on controversial issues of public importance. The policy of the FCC that became known as the Fairness Doctrine was an attempt to assure that all coverage by controversial issues by broadcast stations be balanced and fair.

For 30 years that system served our democracy well and as late as 1979 the FCC asserted that fairness was quote, "The sine qua non for renewing broadcast licenses," unquote.

The position of the FCC dramatically changed when President Regan appointed Mark Fowler as Chairman in 1981. As FCC Chairman, Fowler, with the Republican majority, made clear his opinion that quote, "The perception of broadcasters as community trustees should be replaced by a view of broadcasters as marketplace participants," unquote. With Gingrich and company pushing hard and the Republican FCC they were able to eliminate the Fairness Doctrine in 1987, and then everything changed.

Step two was to remove the media ownership camps.

Gingrich had two allies, Clear Channel and News Corp., who had very clear needs at that level. News Corp. had been ordered to sell the New York Post because of media cross-ownership rules and Clear Channel needed to own multiple stations in a single market in order to squeeze the local advertisers.

In some markets today Clear Channel owns almost all of the stations and so the advertisers have very little choice of what to buy.

Gingrich delivered big time by shepherding through his newly controlled Congress the Telecommunications Act of 1996, which essentially eliminated the public service obligations for local stations.

These two actions, killing the Fairness Doctrine and deregulating ownership rules, have led us to a situation that even Barry Diller describes as a media oligopoly. I believe that if the FCC and Congress continue to roll over for the media cartel, our democracy is in peril.

Two companies will own 80 percent of the nation's radio stations, five companies will own 80 percent of the nation's television broadcasting, four companies will own 80 percent of the nation's cable systems, and they will all fill these channels with content they own and exclude content they don't own, and as Bruce Springstien says it will be 57 channels and nothing on. The theater of humiliation.

Two vastly different ideas of what our future might look like stretch out before us. Down one road lies the founders' original conception of an independent media as a steward to our democracy. Down the other lies a world that can only be described by the word "plutocracy."

I believe the FCC has to postpone its June deadline to decide on the ownership-caps issue. It should then began a comprehensive review of four issues:

One, would maintaining and even strengthening existing ownership (inaudible) lead to a more democratic and pluralistic media system that would restore the community trusteeship nature of broadcasting licenses?

Two, should the commission mandate that cable and satellite networks should also have a public service component in return for the antitrust exemption given to their owners, the major MSO's and media conglomerates?

Three, is there any reason not to restore the Fairness

Doctrine, in order to ensure that issues of vital public

importance are covered in a balanced and fair manner?

Four, that the commission ensure that broadband Internet providers be bound by the same common carrier statute --

(End of Side A, Tape 2. Beginning of Side B, Tape 2.)

MR. TAPLIN: The next four weeks is probably the most critical period in the history of the FCC. The media cartel believes the fight is already over and they have the Republican

votes to lift the last vestiges of regulation from their shoulders. You should understand that the Fox News motto of fair and balanced is nothing but a very unsubtle attempt to mock the commission's impotence in the face of the power of money.

Ninety years ago, as he pushed for antitrust reform,
Woodrow Wilson said quote, "The government which was designed
for the people has gone into the hands of the corporate bosses,
the special interests. An invisible empire has been set up
above the forms of democracy," unquote. Let it not be said
that this great commission allowed that to happen to the
American media next month.

Thank you very much.

MR. WESTEN: Thank you, John.

Our next panelist is Darrell Hunt, professor of Race,

Media, and Cultural Studies at UCLA; director of UCLA's Center

for African American Studies, and he researches representation

of African Americans in primetime television. Darrell -
Darnell, I'm sorry.

MR. HUNT: Thank you.

Technology. Can you hear me?

This may be somewhat of an adventure because I understand that my power is running low on my laptop. Didn't anticipate the delays. We'll see. If not I may have to wing it without the visuals here.

Okay, what I'd like to do this morning is to return to a theme that Representative Becerra introduced very early on, and that's the issue of racial and ethnic diversity. We've heard a lot of talk about diversity in terms of the types of stations, media products, and so forth and so on. But one of the things I think that certainly bears further consideration is the people themselves. I mean, who's being represented? Who is doing the representing?

In 1999, a newspaper article was released in the

Los Angeles Times by Greg Braxton that caused quite a stir. It

seemed that in the 1999 fall season on ABC, CBS, NBC, and FOX,

26 new situation comedies were going to air, but it was found

that not one of them had a minority in a lead role. This, of

course, led to the famous NAACP lead coalition of advocacy

groups, who among other things, threatened to boycott the

networks if they didn't somehow amend this absence.

What we found, of course, in the ensuing months was a quick attempt to add minority characters to some of the shows that had been previously slated, and as further research would show a lot of those characters were quite marginal, there to basically appears the industry pressure of the period.

Now, the research is clear over the years about the role of diversity in network television. Early studies, of course, like the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, late 1970's series, Window Dressing on the Set; more recent studies like the

African American Television Report that I worked on with the Screen Actors Guild; Primetime in Black and White, a study that was released by the UCLA Center for African American Studies last year; the Hollywood Writers' Report, released by the Writer's Guild of America; and Fall Colors, released by Children Now all point to the same troubling conclusion. And that is, people of color, largely in primetime television, are absent.

So let's look for a moment in front of the camera. If we look at primetime television right now, 2003, what we see is that primetime television presents a black and white world. What that means is that White Americans and African Americans, surprisingly to some people, are both over-represented in primetime. Other groups, Latinos, Asian Americans, Native Americans are virtually invisible. You don't find them.

I should note that for those who might see the over-representation of African Americans as positive or good news, when you start looking at the actual portrayals, when you look at the roles themselves you find that most of the roles are marginal at best; they're not your major roles; they're not your more central roles. So what you have basically, is an image of America being reflected back to itself, which is one of largely white importance and everyone else is less important.

Now, if we look at the minority representation gap, we

find it's actually increased over the last 30 years.

The first bar here on the graph shows you the gap between the percentage of the American public -- excuse me -- that was minority in 1970 and the actual, I guess, percentage or proportion of minority characters in primetime. There was only about a two-percent gap. Now again, these representations were by no means wonderful representations, but the gap was a lot smaller than it actually is today.

Indeed, by 1999 and 2001, we see the gap is about 11 to 10 percentage points. Again, most of these roles are your more marginal roles.

Let's look behind the camera. If we look at the point guards, for using that analogy, of television shows, if we look at the show runners, we find that people of color again are woefully underrepresented among their ranks. Black show runners, for example, we found last year in our study, were relegated largely to black shows with one exception. And here, if you looked at the shows that were on television only six percent of those shows actually employed blacks as the executive producers. Ninety-four percent of shows didn't. And, of course, the shows that did were your largely black oriented situation comedies, most of which appeared on UPN. Other minorities, Latinos, Asian Americans, again were virtually invisible within the ranks of show runners on television.

If we look at minority TV directors, we see a similar pattern. Again, we're looking here at the top 40 shows from 2000-2001. We see that only six percent of all TV directors during this period were people of color; 11 percent were women. Indeed you find that white males make up about 31 to 33 percent of the population, but they account for about 80 percent of all TV directors. So again, you have one group that largely controls how we perceive what's being presented on television through, you know, actual creation of the product itself.

What about the people who actually come up with the stories? Well, again, minority TV writers are also rare and again they tend to be relegated to minority shows. Again, looking at primetime 2001-2002, we find from the Writers Guild that combined, all people of color, which make up about 31 percent of our population, only account for about eight percent of screenwriters. They're underrepresented by a factor of four here.

When we look at television, this whole question of diversity, we tend to see a very interesting historical pattern. The first thing we note is that it's largely an insular industry that's largely controlled by white males that tends to, because of the experiences that these people in control have, produce homogenized products.

Periodically, we see advocacy groups pressure the industry for more inclusion. Then, of course, the industry acts to

appease those critics as for example with the voluntary agreements that were struck between the NAACP-led coalition a few years ago in the industry. Then we enter in a period -- into a period where that pressure is typically diminished, and guess what, business as usual practices typically return.

So what are the implications as we sit here today and think about this whole question of consolidation, consolidation of ownership? Well, of course, we can't -- I think we're all here today because we're concerned with issues of democracy. And the point I'd like to make is that democracy and diversity go hand in hand. Prohibitions against media consolidation, of course, were intended to protect the circulation of diverse view points to the American public. And that, of course, was considered to be a public good. And it was best represented in the democratic ideal of the free market, which incidentally was imagined to be composed of a multitude of small buyers and sellers.

I can tell you, as a sociologist who studies media and who studies the effect of media on society, that television is a key cultural forum in our society. And network television, despite its shrinking audience share, continues to serve in that role, providing us with images of who is in and who is out, what is true and what is false, who we are, who we ought to be, as well as some sense of what the nation is as a whole.

And when we bring in the whole issue of diversity, of

course, race and ethnicity still matter. They remain important markers of societal experiences. Indeed surveys and other social-scientific evidence tell us that these experiences often produce the very diverse array of perspectives and viewpoints that the founders thought of when this whole issue of public interest was being -- being conceptualized. These perspectives, of course, are key as they confront many of the issues that are before us as a nation.

So more consolidation without a mechanism for change, I contend, equals more of the same. Today, a handful of multinational media conglomerates control most of the nation's media. And in the last ten years network ownership of its programs has skyrocketed from about 17 percent to about 77 percent today, squeezing out what few small program providers remain. As industry ownership continues to consolidate and as the handful of companies that control the market continue to vertically integrate, it becomes increasingly unclear as to what market or other mechanisms would dissolve the patterns in minority exclusion that we continue to see today.

In other words, in terms of racial and ethnic diversity, things are bad in primetime. More consolidation of ownership will only make them worse.

Thank you.

MR. WESTEN: Thank you, Darnell.

Our last panelist comes to us courtesy of video

conferencing. Martin, are you -- can you hear us all right?

Great. Martin Franks is --

MR. FRANKS: I can hear you fine.

MR. WESTEN: Martin Franks is Executive Vice President of CBS Television and Senior Vice President of Viacom. And before joining CBS, he was chief of staff to Senator Patrick Leahy and executive director of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee. Martin.

MR. FRANKS: Thank you.

I would especially like to thank Commissioner Adelstein, without whom I could not have participated today.

The perspective I'm going to share today is shaped by 16 years in the broadcast network television business, all with CBS. I am, however, a bit confused. And with apologies to Steven Sondheim, Larry Gelbart, and Zero Mostel, a funny thing happened on the way to this forum.

Under pressure from the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit, the FCC has initiated a number of proceedings looking at its various media ownership rules. And as a result of the very specific guidance the commission has received from the Court, the FCC has asked for fresh empirical evidence to help it shape its deliberations. The FCC initiated its own research, and Viacom is part of a coalition that has submitted several additional wide-ranging and intellectually rigorous research studies. Meanwhile a number of commentors have

responded with decades old rhetoric, much of it only very slightly cosmetically updated from arguments that go back 30 or 40 years.

And so now, on the way to today's forum, some very clever people have found a way to insert into the ownership proceeding, a decades old Trojan horse, the financial interest and syndication rules that the Federal court struck down a decade ago. Rules which one wag once termed a battle between the rich and the very wealthy. I salute the Coalition for Program Diversity for its cunning, but not its intellectual rigor.

CBS is making progress in developing secondary revenue streams, but the overwhelming preponderance of the revenue comes from our one principal line of business, selling time made available to advertisers within our programming. We invest enormous amounts in that programming in order to air the very best in news, sports, and entertainment so we will continue to be able to amass the largest possible audience to offer to advertisers.

To assert that CBS keeps marginal shows on the air in order to generate enough episodes to make that program viable in the syndication marketplace is ludicrous. Despite disappointing initial ratings, we do keep some marginal shows on the air and move them around the schedule, but only in search of an audience, not a syndication window. And if those

shows still fail to find an audience, we cancel them. Not because of their ownership, but because they are causing us to forgo advertising revenue, our lifeblood.

Let me state categorically, CBS does favor certain programs over others. We favor programs that garner more audience than their counterparts, whatever the production source.

A decade ago under Federal Court pressure, not unlike that now present in the ownership proceeding, the FCC repealed its FINSYN rules, finding that after 20 years the rules had not only failed to advance program diversity but may have actually inhibited that goal. At the same time the Justice Department withdrew its parallel consent decree independently reaching the same conclusion as the courts, that the rules did not work and were counterproductive.

But now like the Phoenix, FINSYN rises again in the guise of a 25 percent set aside for quote, "independent producers," unquote. Parenthetically, should this item advance any further, I pity the poor FCC staffer charged with coming up a definition of independent that is not arbitrary or capricious. To say nothing of how one could fashion a 25 percent set aside that would meet constitutional muster when it becomes clear that such a set aside would favor one programming form over another.

But let me stay focused on why the revised FINSYN rules

simply are unwarranted. Financing primetime network television is both expensive and risky. Each episode of a primetime drama can easily exceed \$2 million. Half-hour sitcoms are only slightly less expensive, and the only guarantee is that most will fail. Fail to last long enough to recoup that investment in the syndication marketplace.

A writer-producer with a good idea pitches it to networks and studios alike in search of what the program-ownership debate is really all about, financing. Under the old rules networks could not compete as a bank, a source of financing for writer-producers. The old FINSYN rules made the major studios the principal source of such financing, and as collateral and to protect themselves against the huge risks inherent in television production, the studios took a percentage of the potential syndication profits. Exactly what networks are now able to do in the post-FINSYN era.

It is as simple as that. More sources of venture capital for writer-producers with a good idea. It is not about creative freedom; it is not about program source diversity. As noted earlier, it is a fight over which wealthy and powerful entities will get to compete as financing sources for primetime programming.

The networks believe that more sources of financing for that programming is beneficial. Some of our opponents would like to restrict that arena for themselves. We believe the correct answer is self-evident and that is why we are bewildered that this long-ago discredited notion has crept back into the wholly unrelated ownership proceeding.

The proponents of the 25 percent set aside say they are doing so in the name of quote, "independent producers," unquote. As you can see, while these parties may be independent, only insofar as they are not affiliated with a broadcast network, they certainly are not the weak, the small, or the helpless, in need of government intervention or protection. Rather they are large powerful entities, who are asking the FCC to tilt the balance of negotiating power in their favor in the marketplaces of program production, and financing.

In short, they would like the FCC and not the marketplace to chose winners and losers. The FCC's focus, however, must be on the public interest, in this case the viewer. The facts show that the public interest does not equal resurrection of the FINSYN rules. Programming a broadcast network is a costly and risky enterprise. Shackling the broadcast network's ability to compete in the program financing marketplace, will serve only to bolster the deep pocketed and so-called independent producers at the expense of those entities who are not.

As the United States Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit said in overturning the FINSYN rules more than --

1 excuse me-- ten years ago and I quote, "It becomes understandable why the existing producers support the financial 2 interest and syndication rules. The rules protect these 3 producers against new competition both from the networks and from new producers. The ranks of the outside producers of 5 primetime programming have thinned under the regime of 6 financial interest and syndication rules. The survivors are 7 the beneficiaries of the thinning. They do not want the forest restored to its pristine density. They consent to have their 9 own right to self-syndication rights curtailed as the price of 10 a like restriction on their potential competitors, on whom it 11 is likely to bear more heavily." 12

Please, before anyone falls for the FINSYN siren song, remember the rules are unwarranted and they will be difficult, if not impossible, to write. Particularly, with the courts that have already found the rules counterproductive ready and waiting to review any attempts to revive them.

Thank you.

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MR. WESTEN: Thank you, Marty.

That concludes the presentations by our very excellent panelists.

Let me first ask, does any panelist have a burning addition they want to make to the discussion? If not, let me ask Commission Copps if he has any question he would like to put to this panel?